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ABSTRACT

The second of a 3-year juvenile delinquency prevention program, ARRIBA, involved 90 pre-delinquent Chicano youths (ages 8 to 13). The general thesis of the program was that these youths, provided with an educational/tutorial and culturally supportive program administered by bilingual Chicanos, will have a lower likelihood for delinquent behavior than children not in such a program. The control group consisted of 100 children of the same age. The experimental group met 2 hours a day, twice a week. The first hour was devoted to cultural education and the second primarily to recreational activities. During the second hour, the children were taken 1 to 3 at a time to be counseled or tutored. They met in learning centers, partitioned to minimize distractions. Self-awareness sessions were often included. Criticism was avoided and the child was allowed to express his feelings. Findings indicated: (1) that delinquency declined in the area serviced by ARRIBA, (2) that self-concepts of ARRIBA youths significantly improved, (3) that ARRIBA youths made significant academic gains, (4) that ARRIBA youths made positive gains as indicated by teacher assessments, and (5) that grafitti on community property apparently declined. These findings are shown in tabular form. (NQ)

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CULTURAL IDENTITY: AN APPROACH TO PREVENTING DELINQUENCY AMONG CHICANOS

by

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1972

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ABSTRACT

The second year of a three year juvenile delinquency prevention program (called ARRIBA) involving 90 pre-delinquent Chicano youth (ages 8 to 13) is described. The general thesis of the program is that pre-delinquent Chicano youth, provided with an educational/tutorial and culturally supportive program administered by bilingual Chicanos, will have a lower liklihood to delinquent behavior than children not on such a program. For the program year, in contrast to various "controls," it was found that: (1) delinquency declined in the area serviced by ARRIBA, (2) self-concepts of ARRIBA youth significantly improved, (3) ARRIBA youth made significant academic achievement gains, (4) ARRIBA youth made positive gains as indicated by teacher assessments (citizenship, scholarship, and attendance), and (5) grafitti on community property apparently declined. Being fully cognizant of the cause and effect inferential limitations of programs which involve the simultaneous application of several variables at once, it is pointed out that it is unrealistic, indeed, probably immoral, to initiate a real world action program that will not involve as many ways as we may have at our disposal in aiding pre-delinquent youth. It is contended that by having our educational systems adopt a culturally pluralistic framework, programs such as ARRIBA would not be necessary.

INTRODUCTION

Many factors, and almost as many theories, have been set forth in the available literature as explaining the occurrence of delinquent behavior.[1] The same literature indicates, and reasonably so, that no single solution will eliminate the problem. Consistent with this common sense conclusion, it would appear that a potentially useful way of preventing delinquency is to: (1) identify those "primary" correlates presumed to cause and/or enhance it; and (2) provide the supportive aid, that such correlates seem to suggest, to pre-delinquent youth. The question that raises its ugly head is: What conceptual or theoretical framework provides a common denominator for identifying the relevant variables? This author has ambitiously presented such a framework elsewhere,[2] and it is believed that it reconciles the bulk of the empirical and theoretical literature. Its relevance is next briefly summarized.

Coextensiveness of Pluralism and Universalism

In the above-referenced framework, pluralism, as manifested by culturally distinctive needs in men, is seen as being flattened by the homogenizing impositions of technological society. More specifically, it is argued: (1) that technology is an expression of the universal needs dimension of man, (2) that the pluralistic and universal demands of man

are not contradictory, but rather coextensive, (3) that many historical conflicts involve the inappropriate invasion by one need dimension into the other, and (4) that man is presently allowing technology to invade his pluralistic dimension, i.e., the demands of technological society are eroding away at his communal, cultural, and personal identities. Evidence is provided that many of the resulting identity problems are associated with a host of societal ills (discussed in next section). Moreover, it is pointed out that our public schools, which are geared to service the demands of our technological society, are the vehicles wherein our children are most frequently taught to conform to a monolithic mold (the Anglo-Saxon conception of a melting pot) much to the detriment of many ethnics.

Research Focus

What follows is evidence for this author's contention, as extrapolated from the above framework, that the schools contribute, in large part, to the delinquency of youth. Schafer and Polk[3] show (1) how several of the available theories on delinquency have negative school experiences as a common "explanatory" variable, and (2) that there is a considerable evidence that students who violate school standards (e.g., truancy, tardiness, classroom demeanor, respect for authority, etc.) are more likely to become delinquent than those who conform to the implied standards. In an area somewhat related to the latter point, they take the position on the basis of a lengthy

literature that: ". . . The school not only fails to offset initial handicaps of lower income and minority group children, but actively contributes to their educational failure and deterioration." While available data do not allow us to assess the precise amount of the school's negative effect, we take the position that it is probably considerable. If this is true, the school itself becomes an important active force in the generation of delinquency insofar as it is linked to failure."

Of more direct bearing to the question of identity, it has been shown that Mexican-American (M-A) and Black children have poorer conceptions of self than Anglo-American children.[4] Moreover, there is a growing literature indicating that a poor self identity concept goes hand in hand with correlates of mental dysfunction.[5] With regard to M-A's in particular, researchers[6] not only unequivocally point to the negative self-concept and associated poor academic performance that the schools produce, but assert or imply that providing the conditions that enhance a Chicano's[7] self-identity will tend to reduce socially unacceptable behavior. An emphasis on ethnic pride has been shown to rehabilitate criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts, and depressed society drop-outs, many of whom had been previously considered beyond help.[8] Guttentag[9] reports that "Studies in countries other than the United States have shown that when high ethnic homogeneity and cohesiveness can be consciously maintained by state planning, low delinquency rates result. . ." (Emphasis mine). It would, therefore, seem reasonable to predict that providing a

culturally supportive atmosphere for pre-delinquent Chicano youth will attenuate the probability of their occurrence in the delinquent ranks.

ARRIBA--A Supportive Program for Chicanos

What follows is a summary research assessment and evaluation, to date, of ARRIBA, an ongoing project addressed to minimizing delinquency via an educational/tutorial and culturally supportive approach as suggested by the preceding sections. More specifically, in project ARRIBA, pre-delinquent youth are provided Mexican-American cultural history, tutoring, counseling, and recreation in a totally bilingual/bicultural atmosphere. In short, every effort conducive to developing a positive self identity is made.

The general thesis of project ARRIBA is: Pre-delinquent Chicano children provided with an educational/tutorial and culturally supportive program, administered by bilingual Chicanos, will have a lower liklihood to delinquent (or deviant) behavior than children not on such a program. Specific hypotheses to be tested and reported include:

- Children under Project ARRIBA will have greater academic achievement gains than a control group of children not on such a program.
- Children under Project ARRIBA will attain a greater positive self-identity than a control group of children not on such a program.

- Children under Project ARRIBA will not be as involved in delinquent (or deviant) behavior as a control group of children not on such a program.

METHOD

Subjects

Ninety elementary school children, ages eight to thirteen[10] are participating in the experimental group, while a hundred children of the same age are in a control group. The children in the experimental group were either referred by their school teacher, district agencies, their parents, recruited by the project's youth workers,[11] or they simply volunteered to be in the project.[12] The children in the control group were all volunteers from a school district similar to that of the experimental. These two groups were matched on the basis of: (1) the proportion of ethnic school enrollment (this data is contained in the results section), and (2) economic status of the neighborhood (determined by home value assessment averages).[13] While this second group will serve as a long term comparison group, there will be more "transient" types of controls, e.g., see use of South El Monte children not on ARRIBA in results section.

Procedures

The children in the experimental group meet at ARRIBA for two hours a day, twice a week. They have been divided into twenty groups of about five each with each college student assigned two groups. A youth worker attends to one group on Monday and Wednesday, and the other group on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Friday is a preparation and youth worker idea

exchange day. The youth workers meet with their small group in learning centers, partitioned to minimize distraction.

The youth workers were selected on the basis of relative academic success, i.e., they graduated from high school and are presently attending college. Other qualifications met by the youth workers are: (a) ability to speak Spanish, (b) sincerity of interest in working with the youths, (c) residence in the area, and (d) ability and patience in communicating with the children. These qualifications are assessed by three staff, and at least two representatives of the community.

The two-hour-per-day program has been structured to include cultural education (e.g., history and art), tutoring, counseling, and recreation for the youths. The first hour of the program is devoted to cultural education. Topics covered are: Mexican-American (M-A) studies, remedial reading, arithmetic, and spelling. With regard to M-A studies, fifty-two lesson plans have been developed which reflect the culture and history of the M-A in the Southwest, and are utilized as a teacher's manual[14] to guide the youth workers in their discussion sessions. Other relevant guideline materials are continuously gathered and reproduced by the staff and the research consultant (the present author) for incorporation into the lesson plans. During the year, the youth workers are provided with in-service

workshops which cover such topics as the education, history, and psychology of the M-A. The research consultant summarizes these workshop presentations for usage by the ARRIBA youth workers.

Some of the literature sources employed by the project staff for Mexican-American cultural enrichment, and basic academic development are included in the references section. Other literature from current periodicals and magazines are also reviewed and included as part of the educational instruction (e.g., El Grito, Con Safos, Localized History Series, Pensamientos, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, etc.). Reading specialists from the Malabar School project (Los Angeles), Southwest Regional Laboratory, Miller-Unruh, and other reading projects in the school district in which the project is located, volunteer their training services for the youth workers in remedial reading techniques. The youth workers incorporate aspects of each, and tailor their knowledge of such according to the youth's individual needs.

The second hour of the program is devoted to primarily recreational activities. It is during their second hour that the children, taken one to three at a time, are counseled or tutored. Youths in the program are encouraged to bring in their homework from school and to complete as much as they can on their own before turning to the youth worker for assistance

during this second hour. Supervised recreation in the center include such games as: arts and crafts, pool, table games, puzzles, and checkers. Periodical field trips are scheduled: camping, movies, baseball games, beach trips, concerts, and amusement/recreational parks.

Self-awareness sessions are often included during the recreational hour, as well. These types of sessions help the youth become aware of his physical self in relation to his surroundings and towards other individuals. Awareness about similarities and differences are emphasized, particularly pointing to the youth's positive attributes. Thus, by presenting differences, and similarities between youth in a pleasant atmosphere, tolerance for other ethnics may be fostered.[15] Each youth is called by his first name, and is asked to speak about his activities during the earlier part of the day, while the other youths are encouraged to listen attentively until it is their turn to speak. The session is made as pleasant as possible. Criticism is avoided, and the child is allowed to express his feelings without anyone putting words into his mouth. The idea is to have the youth become aware of a positive feeling in himself through expression. It is believed that this positive self expression will allow the youth to develop self-confidence.

Experimental Design and Measures

During the first fiscal year (1970-1971), the program of ARRIBA did not formally begin until April of 1971, because much of that time was employed

in structuring our approach in a manner which smoothly related to the school district, relevant agencies, and community people, thereby insuring the stability of a long range program. It was initially proposed that we assess from school records and Los Angeles County Probation department records, the kind of child that would most benefit from ARRIBA. Had this approach been employed, we would have then started our narrowing down to experimental and control groups from an initial sample size of about 360. Instead, we were constrained to an initial sample size of about ninety.[16] Since the number of potential delinquents is small for a sample size of 360, let alone 90, it was necessary to establish a control group (see subject selection section) outside the target area. Even with the addition of a control group of 100 children, we would still be looking at small numerical frequencies. This type of situation often results in no statistical significance between groups when, in fact, there might be real differences. Thus, the decision to include complementary measures which have been shown by the literature to be highly correlated with other types of socially unacceptable (but less serious) behavior, i.e., teacher behavioral performance assessments, self concept assessments (via self drawings), and tested academic performance assessments (via the Wide Range Achievement Test). Inasmuch as property defacement is categorically defined as unlawful, it was felt that such data (more specifically, graffiti on community buildings) would also tend to complement the anticipated sparse delinquency data from

the probation department. For the sake of organizational clarity, the specific approaches used in measuring the utility of ARRIBA for a program year are contained in the results and discussion section.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion subsections consist of: (1) delinquency statistics (from probation department); (2) teacher behavioral assessments; (3) Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) gains; (4) gains in self concept (pictorial); and (5) grafitti as an "unobtrusive" indicator.

Delinquency Statistics

At the time the present research analysis was performed, there were 90 charges being handled by ARRIBA. There were 172 other charges previously associated with ARRIBA. ARRIBA had thus far provided services for a total of 262 charges. Of the 90 charges, none have been involved with the law. Of those 172 no longer on the program of ARRIBA, four have been negatively involved with juvenile court.[17] Youth from the control area (48 Spanish-Surnamed and 52 "others") did not have any youth involved with the law. The proportionate differences in the delinquency statistics between ARRIBA and each sub-sample from the control area, as anticipated, were clearly not significant. However, it cannot be overemphasized that ARRIBA makes every effort to select potential delinquents. (That ARRIBA may be somewhat successful in this is suggested in the next paragraph). This, plus the fact that only four incidents of delinquency occurred, and then only for former participants is suggestive of ARRIBA's efficacy in preventing juvenile delinquency.[18]

Delinquency has decreased dramatically in the area served by ARRIBA in contrast to its control area. As indicated by Table 1, the Spanish-surnamed populations of the census tracts that comprise ARRIBA and its control area have been increasing absolutely and proportionately. Indeed, the area served by ARRIBA has shown better than a 20 to 1 population increase over its control area (Table 2). With this increase contrast in mind, it was surprising to find such a large absolute decrease (Table 3) in the number of boys referred to the probation department from the ARRIBA area in contrast to the control area. This finding is also contrary to what some social scientists might predict. The data of Table 4 for girls seem to further emphasize the implications being made with regard to Table 3 by contrast (recall that ARRIBA is a program only for boys).

To be sure, ARRIBA cannot take full credit for such correlational data. However, in light of the preceding and that to follow, it is believed that ARRIBA is in some way responsible for it.

Table 1

Spanish-Surnamed (S-S) Composition of Schools that ARRIBA and Control Area Serve

		1970	1971*
ARRIBA (includes nine schools)	Percent S-S	50.5%	54.3%
	Number of S-S	2,914	2,964
CONTROL (includes five schools)	Percent S-S	47.7%	50.5%
	Number of S-S	1,795	1,984

Table 2

Overall Population of the Census Tracts that Compromise the ARRIBA and Control Area

	1970	1971*	Shift
ARRIBA	10,828	17,076	+57.7%
CONTROL	23,685	24,305	+2.6%

*October estimate

Table 3

Number of Boys Referred to Probation Dept. in ARRIBA and Control Area Census Tracts. (Civil Court Investigations Deleted)

	652* Reports			Init. Ct. Rep.			Combined
	1970	1971	Shift	1970	1971	Shift	Shifts
ARRIBA	38	19	-50%	53	43	-18.9%	-31.9%
CONTROL	35	31	-11.4%	55	65	+18.2%	+6.7%

*Non-court involved investigation

Table 4

Number of Girls* Referred to Probation Dept. in ARRIBA and Control Area in Census Tracts. (Civil Court Investigations Deleted)

	652 Reports			Init. Ct. Rep.			Combined
	1970	1971	Shift	1970	1971	Shift	Shifts
ARRIBA	15	13	-13.3%	12	18	+50%	+14.9%
CONTROL	8	6	-25.0%	22	11	-50%	-43.3%

*ARRIBA is only for boys (ages 8-13)

Teacher Behavioral Assessments

To obtain an outside assessment of Project ARRIBA, teachers were asked to provide a citizenship and academic evaluation of ARRIBA children. It is assumed that this approach serves as a reasonably accurate assessment of positive and/or negative behaviors towards society in general. Similarly, this type of information should probably also be considered as being a fairly direct indication of Project ARRIBA's efficacy in minimizing future delinquent behavior. Indeed, it would appear that the type of data included in this section would be most useful in assessing other delinquency programs such as ARRIBA which: (1) have few youth in the program, e.g., less than 150 children, (2) consist primarily of relatively young pre-delinquent youth, e.g., less than 14 years of age, and (3) have conditions which preclude complete control over the systematic selection of charges.

Only those teachers whose children participated in ARRIBA took part. To minimize the perception that the teachers might be assessing ARRIBA itself, the following two things were done:

(1) A number of boys, equal to that number from ARRIBA within a class, were randomly selected (whether Anglo or Chicano). For example, in addition to three ARRIBA children being assessed in teacher "A's" class, there were also three other "control group" children from the same class who were similarly being assessed, and

(2) The following instructions were provided:

> Dear Teacher:
>
> We are presently engaged in a small research project with a local university. This project involves the development of an evaluation instrument. We have selected a stratified random sample of students from your class.

Please indicate Benito Juarez 's progress or regression since _____ 19____ in each of the following areas by placing a check in the spaces provided.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Tables 5a through 7b summarize the teacher assessments. Only 72 of the 90 charges were included; 16 (including one Anglo child) were excluded because their degrees of participation had been less than two months. The one black and one Anglo child who had been on the program more than two months were not included because the ethics of confidentiality would have been violated.

It is recognized that for the obtained data there is a lack of a common reference point. This may be said to be true, by definition, of all experimental programs such as ARRIBA wherein the experimental group, by design, has not been randomly selected. Simply translated, this means that while ARRIBA Chicanos may have shown more personal performance improvements than the Chicano controls, ARRIBA Chicanos may actually be "worse" in their "real world" behavior. This is a reasonable contention. It does not follow, however, that inferences based on data from such a common "quasi-experimental" design may not be made concerning the efficacy of programs such as ARRIBA. The key concept here is the dynamic of teacher perceived "performance improvement." From the research literature, one would have expected ARRIBA Chicanos (presumably consisting of youth more disposed toward delinquency) to show a perceived performance decline (certainly no perceived improvement)

in contrast to the control Chicanos, if ARRIBA were not effective, no matter the "real world" correspondence of the perceived behavior. ("Real world" performance correspondence assessments may be inferred from the other reported data. Indeed, this is, in part, a reason for the existence of the other data.) As the tables indicate, there were no statistically significant changes. However, six of the seven tables were in the predicted direction of more improvement being shown for ARRIBA Chicanos in contrast to control Chicanos. (Both groups were slightly worse than the Anglo group.) Since ARRIBA is presumed to have more than a lion's share of potential delinquents in terms of referrals, the fact that six of the seven tables have a greater percentage of improvements for ARRIBA Chicanos over non-referred Chicanos is indicative of ARRIBA's <u>apparent</u> success.

TEACHER ASSESSMENT SUMMARIES OF STUDENT CITIZENSHIP

Table 5a. Obedience

* Chi-square Values			Worse	Same	Better	Chi-square Values
	ARRIBA	Chicano	9 12.5%	51 70.8%	12 16.7%	1.78
1.88	CONTROLS	Chicano	10 17.5%	34 59.6%	13 22.9%	0.98
		Anglo	1 8.3%	7 58.3%	4 33.3%	

Table 5b. Dependability

			Worse	Same	Better	
	ARRIBA	Chicano	8 12.7%	43 68.3%	12 19.0%	0.78
1.47	CONTROLS	Chicano	8 14.3%	36 63.1%	13 22.6%	2.97
		Anglo	1 7.8%	6 46.1%	6 46.1%	

Table 5c. Courtesy

			Worse	Same	Better	
	ARRIBA	Chicano	6 8.3%	58 80.6%	8 11.1%	1.34
3.53	CONTROLS	Chicano	7 12.3%	41 71.9%	9 15.8%	1.64
		Anglo	1 7.7%	8 61.5%	4 30.8%	

Table 5d. Work Habits

			Worse	Same	Better	
	ARRIBA	Chicano	6 8.3%	41 56.9%	25 34.8%	2.16
0.63	CONTROLS	Chicano	8 14.0%	35 61.4%	14 24.6%	0.63
		Anglo	1 7.8%	6 46.1%	6 46.1%	

*All Chi-square values were not statistically significant ($p > .10$).

TEACHER ASSESSMENT SUMMARIES OF SCHOLASTIC PERFORMANCE AND ATTENDANCE

Table 6. Overall Scholastic Performance

			Worse	Same	Better	Chi-square Values
*Chi-square Values	ARRIBA	Chicano	7 9.7%	37 51.4%	28 38.9%	
						0.34
0.25	CONTROLS	Chicano	7 12.3%	30 52.6%	20 35.1%	
						0.63
		Anglo	1 7.8%	6 46.1%	6 46.1%	

Table 7a. Absences

			More	Same	Fewer	
	ARRIBA	Chicano	9 12.5%	45 62.5%	18 25.0%	
						0.64
2.00	CONTROLS	Chicano	7 12.3%	39 68.4%	11 19.3%	
						1.78
		Anglo	0 0%	10 76.1%	3 23.9%	

Table 7b. Tardiness

			More	Same	Fewer	
	ARRIBA	Chicano	10 13.9%	48 66.4%	14 19.4%	
						0.83
0.41	CONTROLS	Chicano	5 8.8%	40 70.2%	12 21.0%	
						0.04
		Anglo	1 7.7%	9 69.2%	3 23.1%	

*All Chi-square values were not statistically significant ($p > .10$).

WRAT Gains

The WRAT was selected for use by ARRIBA because: (1) it is relatively brief, (2) it appears to be less culturally biased than other performance tests and, (3) two of its sub-tests (reading and spelling) are of obvious interest to programs such as ARRIBA which serve predominantly Spanish-surnamed children.

The WRAT was to be used only on the ARRIBA population as a relatively quick diagnostic tool in the areas of reading and spelling. However, one may make some inferences concerning the effectiveness of ARRIBA in contrast to two "quasi-controls:" the randomly selected sample on which the WRAT's norms are based, and a rough compositive sample of what the generally observed performance is for Spanish-surnamed (S-S) samples. The WRAT group norms indicate 0.8 of a school year gain for 8 months of a school year, and 0.6 to 0.7 of a school year gain is a conservative specification of what the typically observed gain is for S-S groups.[19]

To be useful, the WRAT is typically administered when the child first enters the program at any time of the year. However, ARRIBA was able to pre-test 28 of these children in September of 1971 and post-test 19 of these in June of 1972. There was no apparent reason to believe that this sample of 19 pre- and post-tested children is not reasonably representative of ARRIBA's other children. The performance gains of these children are listed in Table 8. The pre-to post-test gains were all statistically significant.

For all three areas, there were more children performing at grade level (indicated by asterisks) at post-test than at pre-test. The gains in reading and spelling (over 16 months) are remarkably greater (over twice as great) than those one would expect for groups similar to the two "quasi-control" groups mentioned above.[20] True, although the gains in mathematics are no better than what one may observe for other S-S samples, three children at post-test were found to be performing above grade level (indicated by asterisks) in mathematics, whereas at pre-test all 19 were performing below grade level. This disparity in gains does suggest that ARRIBA was possibly placing an over-emphasis in reading and writing skills to the relative detriment of mathematics skills. This has been changed, and it is believed that such a change will be reflected in the following year. This approach is consistent with ARRIBA's belief that successful performance in all facets of a child's life is necessary for the development of positive feelings about himself and that this will reduce the frustrations and subsequent deviant behavior that might ordinarily occur.

TABLE 8

Wide Range Achievement Test Performance
of a Sample of ARRIBA Children

	READING TEST			SPELLING TEST			MATHEMATICS TEST		
Subjects	Pre	Post	Gain	Pre	Post	Gain	Pre	Post	Gain
1	2.3	2.3	0	1.6	4.2	2.6	2.2	2.3	0.1
2	3.9	4.6	0.7	3.0	3.7	0.7	3.4	4.9	1.5
3	4.2	5.0	0.8	4.5	3.9	-0.6	3.9	5.0	1.1
4	4.5	4.4	-0.1	2.6	3.7	1.1	3.2	4.2	1.0
5	1.6	1.6	0	1.2	3.0	1.8	2.6	1.8	-0.8
6	4.1*	6.1*	2.0	3.0	5.5*	2.5	3.6	3.7	0.1
7	3.1*	4.2*	1.1	2.7	4.2*	1.5	2.6	4.7*	2.1
8	4.2	4.4	0.2	2.2	4.3	2.1	3.9	5.3	1.4
9	2.3	4.1*	1.8	2.5	2.4	-0.1	2.4	3.2	0.8
10	2.9	8.7*	5.8	2.3	4.0	1.7	3.6	3.9	0.3
11	5.9	6.1	0.2	3.2	5.3	2.1	5.5	3.9	-1.6
12	4.2	6.8	2.6	2.7	4.0	1.3	3.9	3.4	-0.5
13	6.2	12.2*	6.0	4.3	6.1	1.8	4.4	4.4	0
14	1.8	2.3	0.5	1.1	4.2	3.1	2.1	2.3	0.2
15	2.8	4.8	2.0	3.0	3.7	0.7	2.9	5.3	2.4
16	2.4	3.1	0.7	2.4	3.9	1.5	3.6	3.0	-0.6
17	6.5*	8.1*	1.6	4.7*	4.5	-0.2	3.6	6.0*	2.4
18	3.8*	5.5*	1.7	4.5*	5.3*	0.8	2.1	2.6	0.5
19	9.7*	12.9*	3.2	6.8*	13.0*	6.2	4.7	6.1*	1.4
Means	4.02	5.64	1.62	3.07	4.68	1.61	3.38	4.00	.62
	t=3.98,df=18,p<.01, one-tailed			t=4.75,df-18,p<.01 one-tailed			t-2.45,df-18,p<.02 one-tailed		

* Performing above grade level

Gains in Self-Concept (Pictorial)

Upon entrance to ARRIBA (at any time of the year), each child is requested to draw a picture of a male, a female, and himself. For this test the boys are provided with fine point color pens (felt tipped). As in the case of the WRAT, ARRIBA was able to pre-test 32 of its children in September and post-test 20 of these in June of 1972. Similar pre- and post-test data were obtained for 24 of an initial pre-tested sample of 43 Chicanos from the control area.

The two judges used to assess the pictures had completed a senior college course concerning the Psychology of the Mexican American (taught by the author). The judges were instructed to evaluate each child's drawing of himself in terms of a "Chicano" perspective. Both raters were led to believe that the 88 picture protocols being evaluated were all from the same population. Each judge rated and evaluated each child's self picture (pre- and post-test) employing the following format:

> Looking at the child's drawing of himself how would you rate the child's self-image in terms of other children? (Circle appropriate number).
>
> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
> Very Negative — No Diff. — Very Positive

What is the skin color of the child's drawing of:

Himself_____

The Male_____

The Female_____

Disparities between the judges for the scale item were split, e.g., if one judge's rating was 5 and the other's was 6 for a child's picture, the picture was given a composite of 5.5. Considering the fact that only one scale item was employed, and an elusive item being evaluated at that, it was surprising to find such a high degree of inter-judge agreement. Inter-judge reliability, employing Pearson's product-moment correlation, was $r=.41$ and $r=.69$ for the pre-and post-test picture ratings, respectively. Both correlations were significant beyond the .01 level of confidence. With regard to judge disparities in reported skin coloration, a third judge (also unaware of the different populations represented in the picture protocols) made the final decision.

The composite ratings obtained for the pre- and post-test self drawings for ARRIBA and control group Chicanos were subjected to an unweighted means analysis of variance (Table 9). As indicated, there were no overall statistically significant differences reported for the testing ($T_1 - T_2$) variable or the Experimental vs. Control (E - nE) group variable.

To be sure, a non-significant overall F test ordinarily signals one to analyze no further, that there are no differences between the cell means. In short, post hoc analyses are forbidden. However, ". . . specific comparisons which are built into the design or suggested by the theoretical basis for the experiment can and should be made individually, regardless of the outcome of the corresponding over-all F test."[21] With regard to ARRIBA it was specifically predicted that ARRIBA Chicanos would show a gain in positive self-identity in contrast to a control group. Performing the A PRIORI specified statistical contrast, it was found that ARRIBA Chicanos were judged as having a significantly ($t=2.01$, $df=1/42$, $p<.02$, one-tailed) more positive self-image at post-test than they had at pre-test. The results as graphed in Figure 1 illustrate that ARRIBA Chicanos were primarily responsible for the overall seeming trend of a difference ($p<.15$) from pre-test to post-test; there was essentially no such difference for the control Chicanos, thus the seeming additional trend ($p\sim.20$) of an interaction effect. True, the ARRIBA Chicanos were at an initially lower point than their controls, they nevertheless were higher at post-test.

For each of the required drawings, there was an increase in the number of children using the color brown for skin coloration. Table 11 provides a breakdown of this increase from pre- to post-test. These results are in a direction consistent with the preceding results.

Table 9

Summary of Unweighted-Means Analysis of Variance Performed on the Pre- and Post-test (T_1-T_2) Self-drawings for Experimental (ARRIBA) and Control Group (E-nE) Chicanos

Source of Variance	Sums of Squares	df	MS	F	P
Between Subj.		43			
E-nE	.0502	1	.0502	—	—
Subj. w. grps.	58.3086	42	1.3883		
Within Subj.		44			
T_1-T_2	2.9716	1	2.9716	2.42	<.15
E-nE x T_1-T_2	2.0428	1	2.0428	1.67	~.20
T_1-T_2 x error within	51.5269	42	1.2268		

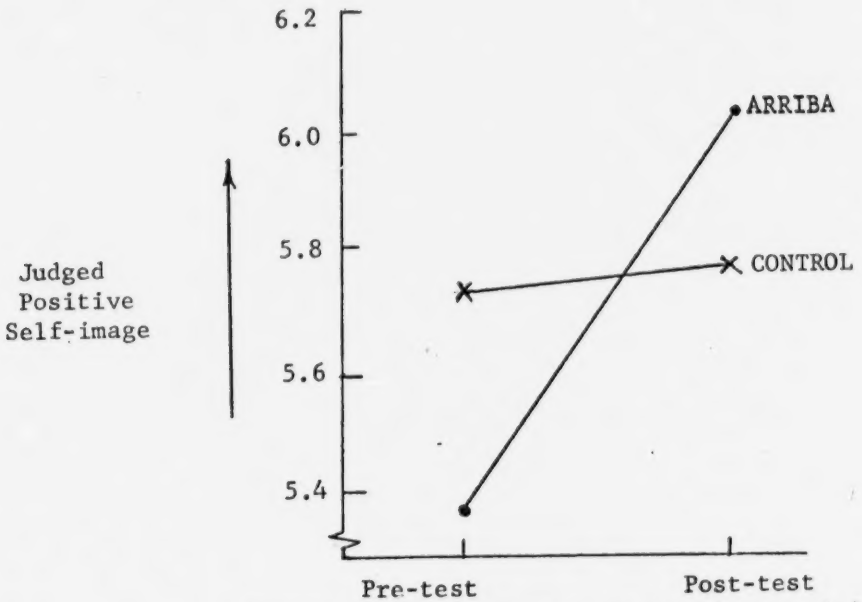


Figure 1. Illustration of Significant Gain for ARRIBA in Contrast to Non-significant gain for Control Group

Table 10

Summary of Self-image Judgements

	Tpre	Tpost	GAINS
ARRIBA	5.375	6.050	.675
CONTROLS	5.729	5.792	.063

Table 11

Summary Table of Youth Using the Color Brown
for Skin Coloration from Pre-Test to Post-test

	No. of Youth Using Brown	
Drawing	Pre-test	Post-test
Himself	3	7
Male	2	10
Female	1	5

Grafitti--an "Unobtrusive" Indicator

Not only is this evaluation aspect of ARRIBA unique, but also most revealing. A youth worker was instructed only to take pictures of grafitti in the South El Monte area. It was then subsequently observed that the grafitti increased in proportion to distance from ARRIBA (see figures 2 through 6). Only one grafitti attempt has been made on the building of Project ARRIBA (look closely at Figure 2, picture 3); it has since been painted over. Perhaps this finding is somewhat related to the fact that within Project ARRIBA, the children are allowed to express themselves, through grafitti or otherwise. Thus, ARRIBA may be responding to the cry for identity which grafitti is interpreted to be by some social scientists. It may also be that the children (including perhaps other children not in ARRIBA who know the goals of ARRIBA) probably do not wish to draw or paint on buildings that are within "visual" range of ARRIBA. Both interpretations, particularly the latter, are conceivably very much related to the highly valued Chicano concept of respect. Is it not reasonable for a child to develop a respect for a place that represents one's heritage? To develop respect for a place that makes one proud of his heritage, and therefore himself? If such respect is assumed to be highly desirable, then the building of ARRIBA is accorded a great deal more respect than other buildings. Whether you accept one interpretation, both, or some other, it would appear that the presence of ARRIBA is responsible for such a finding.

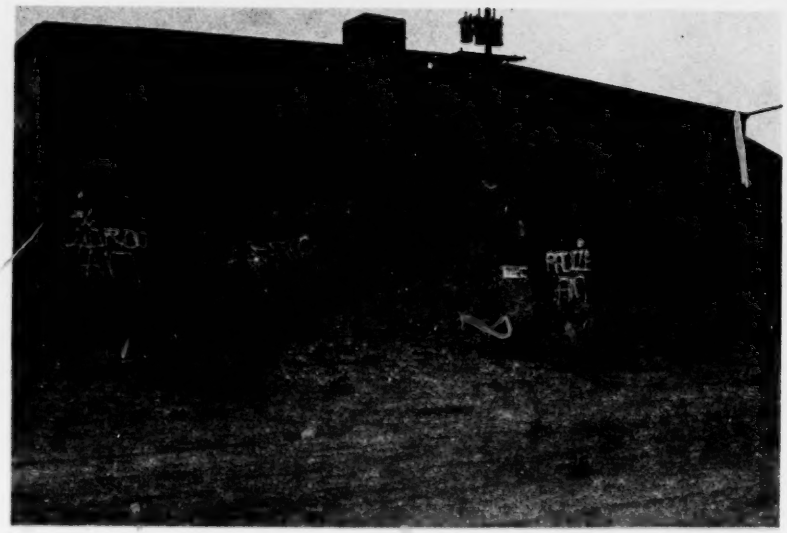
Pic.I - Full Shot of ARRIBA

Pic. 2 - Left Side of ARRIBA

Pic. 3 - Right Side of ARRIBA

FIG. 2- PROJECT ARRIBA AT 2325 SEAMAN AVE.

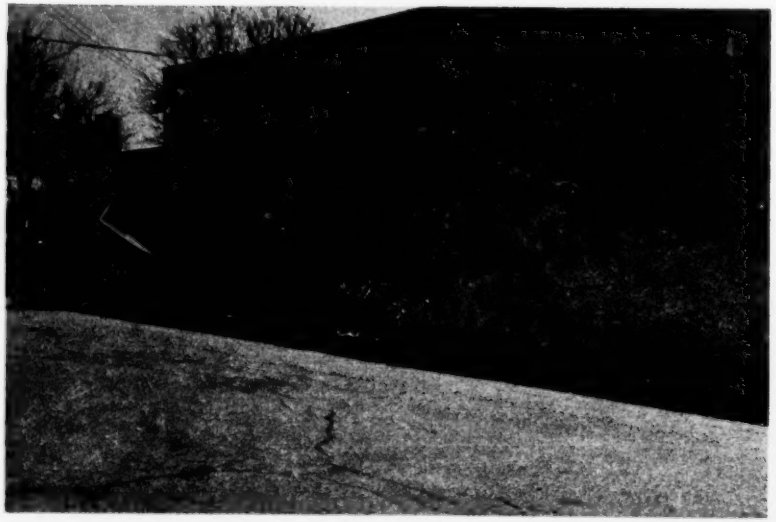
Pic. 1 - One Door West



Pic. 2 - Adjacent Corner

Pic.3-One Block North

FIG. 3- GRAFITTI WITHIN 1 BLOCK OF ARRIBA

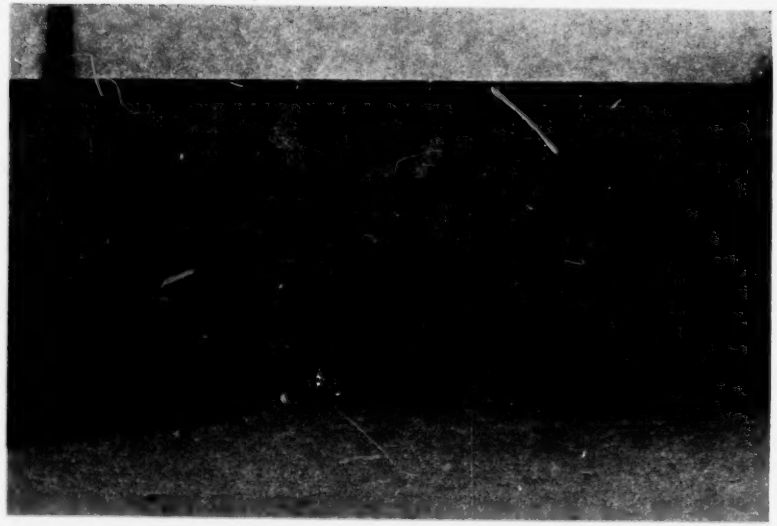


Pic. 1 - 9700 Factorial Way

Pic. 3- Calamia Mg. Co.

F I G. 4- G R A F I T T I T W O B L O C K' S

A W A Y F R O M A R R I B A.



Pic. 2 - 9758 Klingerman St.

Pic. 1 - 2651 Seaman Ave.

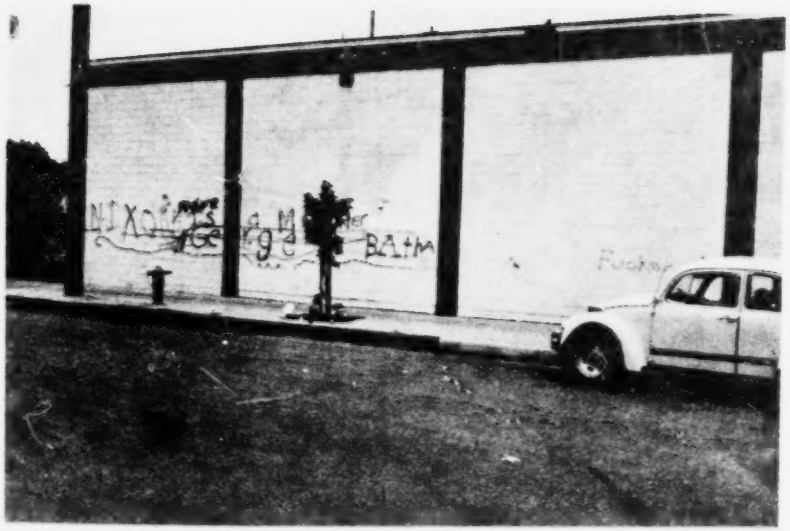
Pic. 3- Sunset Soft Ser. Co.

FIG. 5- GRAFITTI THREE BLOCK'S AWAY FROM ARRIBA.

Pic. 2 - Three Blocks North

Pic. 1 - 9900 Garvey Ave.

Pic. 2 - Vons Market



Pic. 3- Pizza Palace

FIG. 6- GRAFITTI FOUR BLOCK'S AWAY FROM ARRIBA.

Other Measures

There are two areas in which ARRIBA is obtaining information that will not be reported until the completion of the third program year, these include:

1. The educational and ethnic-specific attitudes of ARRIBA children in contrast to a control group of children, and
2. The degree of increased participation by older youth and adults in ARRIBA and in the community.

It is predicted that for the first area, attitudes toward education and the child's own ethnic, will improve. With regard to the second area, the number of people from the community participating in project ARRIBA has about doubled in a year's period. In the third and final program year, a narrative of the increasing participation and types of fund raisers and festivities held by ARRIBA's Community and Parent Councils will be provided.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of this study taken together confirm hypothesis two, and provide relatively strong support for hypotheses one and three. It is not clear to this author how a setting such as ARRIBA could not help but improve the self concepts of Chicano children and subsequently the other reported behaviors. It may still be contended by some, however, that because the various types of obtained data occurred subsequent to ARRIBA, it is not clear whether we are merely looking at correlations of the same outcome, i.e., the improved self concept is not clearly responsible for the other apparently improved behaviors. Such a contention notwithstanding, it may nevertheless be argued that the program of ARRIBA, which is in almost every conceivable way designed to be culturally supportive of a Chicano child's conception of self, whether it be the counseling, recreational, tutorial, or educational aspect of the program, is responsible for the resulting positive behavioral gains. It cannot be over-emphasized that it is unrealistic, indeed probably immoral, to initiate real world action programs such as ARRIBA which do not involve as many ways as we may have at our disposal in aiding pre-delinquent youth.

It goes without saying that the schools must move in a direction of supporting a culturally pluralistic framework, rather than just supporting only that of the Anglo-Saxon. (Recall that in the teacher behavioral assessment section, the Anglo children were perceived as having made more positive

gains in seven of seven tables than the experimental or control Chicanos.) Clearly, it makes more sense to make minor modifications in the educational philosophy of our school system than to support additional programs that have to correct the wrongs visited on the children.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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FOOTNOTES

[1]For excellent reviews of the literature and extensive references see: The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice's Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1967; Cohen, A.K. Delinquent Boys. New York; The Free Press, 1965; Conger, J.J., & Miller, W.C. Personality, Social Class, and Delinquency. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966; Robison, S.M. Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1960.

[2]Lee, D. Lopez. An assessment of pluralism and universalism: Their implications for local and central controls. Journal of Comparative Cultures (in Press), 1972. A simplified version has been published as: "A Pluralistic Philosophy for Chicanos." Con Safos 1972, 8, 18-20.

[3]Schaefer, W.E., & Polk, K. Delinquency and the Schools. In Task Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, op. cit.

[4]Peterson, B. & Ramiriz III, M. Real ideal self disparity in Negro and Mexican-American children. Psychology, 1971, 8 (3), 22-26; Madsen, W. Value conflicts in cultural transfer. In Worchel, P. & Byrne D. (eds.) Personality Change, New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964; Clark, K.B. & Clark M.P. Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In Maccoby, E.E., Newcomb, T.M. & Harley, E.L. (eds.) Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1958, 602-611; cf., Dworkin, A.G. Stereotypes and self-images held by native-born and foreign-born Mexican-Americans. Sociology and Social Research, 1965, 49, 214-224.

[5]Ramirez III, M. Identification with Mexican-American values and psychological adjustment in Mexican-American adolescents. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1969, 15 (2), 151-156; Sommers, V.S. The impact of dual-cultural membership on identity. Psychiatry, 1964, 27, 332-344; Fabrega, Jr., H. & Wallace, C.A. Value identification and psychiatric disability: an analysis involving Americans of Mexican descent. Behavioral Science, 1968, 13, 362-371; Parker, S. & Kleiner, R.J. Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community. New York: Free Press, 1965; Blum, R.H. Case identification in psychiatric epidemiology: Methods and problems. Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 1962, 40, 253-288; Hallowell, A.I. Values, acculturation and mental health. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1950, 20, 732-743.

[6] Carter, T.P. Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970; Demos, G. Attitudes of Mexican-Americans and Anglo-American Groups toward education. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 249-256; Lee, D. Lopez, et al. The Cal-State, L.A. Chicano Student--A Study of Academic Performance of E.O.P. Chicanos, Non-E.O.P. Chicanos, and Anglos, and the Relationship of Attitudes to Academic Performance. Educational Opportunity Program, California State College, Los Angeles, 1971; Manuel, H.T. The Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest--Their Education and the Public Welfare. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1965; Ramirez, III, M. Potential Contributions by the Behavioral Sciences to Effective Preparation Program for Teachers of Mexican-American Children. Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, Feb., 1969; Ramirez, III, M., Taylor, C. & Peterson, B. Mexican-American cultural membership and adjustment to school. Developmental Psychology, 1971, 4, 141-148; Ramirez, III, M. The relationship of acculturation to educational achievement and psychological adjustment in Chicano children and adolescents: A review of the literature. El Grito, 1971, 4 (4), 21-28.

[7] Throughout this paper Chicano and Mexican-American are used interchangeably.

[8] Eissien-Udom, E.U. Black Nationalism, A Search for an Identity in America. New York: Dell, 1964.

[9] Guttentag, M. Group cohesiveness, ethnic organization, and poverty. Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26, 105-132.

[10] This age group was selected as the target population, inasmuch as the research literature suggests that a precipitous rise in delinquency occurs after about 13 years of age. It may be argued that this rise is not corrected for bulges in the indicated age group because of high fertility rates shortly after World War II. Nevertheless, as Wolfgang points out "very few offenses are ever recorded for ages below 10" (see: Wolfgang, M.E The culture of youth. In Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, op. cit.).

[11] Recruitment by the youth workers is primarily from peer group acquaintances of present ARRIBA youth.

[12]This array of selection procedures was already in process when the present author became Director of Research for ARRIBA, and no clear records are available as to the proportion of youth selected by each process. However, the project Director estimates that in excess of 70% of the charges were referred or recruited because of "unmanageable behavioral tendencies." The basis for this wide range of selection processes should become apparent in a later part of this paper. It should be noted that the selection procedures tend to work against the predicted direction of our research hypotheses.

[13]On the basis of Federally required ethnic surveys for 1970, only five school districts with Spanish surname percentages similar to ARRIBA were considered adequate for comparison with regard to listed selling prices of homes. The aid of three realtors was enlisted from each district (ARRIBA included) in obtaining the listed selling prices. The area selected as the best match for ARRIBA had a median listing price of $16,000, with some homes listed as high as $22,000. In the area services by ARRIBA the median listing price was $17,000, with some homes listed as high as $30,000 because of their R-3 classification.

[14]This handbook entitled "A Chicano Studies Handbook", 1972, ARRIBA, was prepared by Roberto Casas.

[15]Clarification of this conceptual approach may be found in: Lee, D. Lopez. A pluralistic philosophy for Chicanos. Con Safos, 1972, 8, 18-20.

[16]Addresses of potential youth members could not be released to ARRIBA by the schools because this was felt to be confidential information. We therefore had to have the school send a general notice home with each child noting the opening of ARRIBA. From the population of children that arrived on that basis, we then had to send a parental approval slip home with the child. This latter procedure reduces the number of children to ninety that ended up attending ARRIBA.

[17]The present Judge of the Juvenile Court of El Monte prohibits the Director of the Los Angeles County Probation Department (San Gabriel Valley District Office) from specifying which children have been involved with the courts--thus, the inability to elaborate upon the four law-involved youth.

[18] The 172 previous charges have a median degree of participation with ARRIBA of 3 months.

[19] See: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' The Unfinished Education: Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States. Mexican American Educational Series, Report II, October 1971.

[20] For the 1971-1972 academic year, none of the comparable grade levels of the schools serviced by ARRIBA reported academic gains as great as ARRIBA, federally funded or not, in the comparably measured area of reading.

[21] Winer, B.J. Statistical Principles in Experimental Design. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962, p. 208.

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